

THE DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20505

National Intelligence Council

31 August 1982

NOTE FOR THE DIRECTOR

SUBJECT: Talking Points for Polish SNIE

1. Secretary Shultz asked for a fast track Memorandum to Holders on SNIE 12-6-82 completed last March on "Poland -- Prospects over the next 12 to 18 months."

2. Events in Poland yesterday seem to corroborate the Memorandum to Holders basic points. The Solidarity managed to get demonstrations in the streets of many of the major Polish cities, but the demonstrations were contained by Security Forces.

3. The principal findings of the Memorandum are the continuation for more of the same. No fundamental dialogue between Jaruzelski and the Polish people is likely so the basic tensions and problems are going to remain. The Communist Party is still in-disarray and is likely to remain so for some time to come. Solidarity also has its problems and is going to be, especially after yesterday's events, a good deal of soul searching about the proper strategy and tactics for the future.

4. Jaruzelski may well formally lift martial law but only to replace it with some kind of system of special powers. We doubt there will be any significant "liberalization" over the next year or so. Jaruzelski is talking about economic reforms but he is going to have a hard time given bureaucratic inertia to make some significant changes from the centralized approach. The turn to the East produced little results and economic interaction with the West will continue to be limited by Warsaw's inability to obtain new finances.

5. The USSR is reasonably satisfied with the way things are going although the Soviets clearly are still watching events very carefully. Jaruzelski probably has control over day to day tactics but we doubt he has very much leeway on fundamental issues of control and Poland's role in the Pact. We see little evidence of fundamental differences between him and the Soviets on these issues.

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SECRET